

Message Text

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CINCLANT NORFOLK VA IMMEDIATE
USNMR SHAPE BE IMMEDIATE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MPOL, NATO, US, SP
SUBJECT: SPAIN AND NATO - RESPONSES TO SPANISH QUESTIONS
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1. WE BELIEVE THAT THE DRAFT RESPONSES TO THE SPANISH
QUESTIONS GENERALLY POINT IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION AND
REPRESENT A GOOD BASIS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT. THERE
FOLLOW BELOW SEVERAL GENERAL AND SPECIFIC OBSERVATIONS
WHICH WE HOPE WILL HELP IMPROVE THE FINAL PRODUCT.

2. GENERAL COMMENTS:

A. IN RESPONDING TO EACH QUESTION, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE
POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SPAIN BE PLACED AS FAR FORWARD IN
THE ANSWER AS POSSIBLE, IN ORDER TO GAIN THE ATTENTION OF
SPANISH PARTICIPANTS AND CREATE A POSITIVE FIRST IMPRES-

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SION.

B. THERE IS DANGER THAT, AS EACH OF THE QUESTIONS IS
DISSECTED, PARTICIPANTS WILL FOCUS ON BURDENS OF MEMBER-
SHIP RATHER THAN THE BENEFITS. THEREFORE, WE BELIEVE
THAT IT WILL BE USEFUL TO INCLUDE A STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT
THAT NATO'S COLLECTIVE SECURITY IS GREATER THAN THE SUM

OF ITS INDIVIDUAL PARTS.

C. IN SO FAR AS POSSIBLE, SPANISH ARGUMENTS AGAINST NATO MEMBERSHIP (MADRID 10080) SHOULD BE ADDRESSED IN THE RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONS.

D. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO DEVELOP A GOOD, BUT BRIEF, LEAD-IN OVERVIEW (PERHAPS PRIOR TO AGENDA ITEM II) WHICH STRESSES SUCH THINGS AS THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ALLIANCE NATIONS, THE CENTRAL ROLE OF CONSULTATIONS, METHODS OF DERIVING FINANCIAL AND MILITARY CONTRIBUTIONS AS WELL AS SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE TREATY WHICH WOULD BEAR ON SPANISH ACCESSION. THESE POINTS COULD BE STRESSED AS SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ARE ADDRESSED.

E. WE SUGGEST THAT THERE IS A REQUIREMENT FOR A GOOD, RAPID INTERPRETATION CAPABILITY. BASED ON PAST BRIEFINGS FOR THE SPANISH IN MADRID, WE SEE THIS AS A POTENTIALLY SERIOUS TROUBLE SPOT, ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE REQUIREMENT FOR FAMILIARITY WITH NATO TERMINOLOGY.

F. WE BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO NOTE THE ON-GOING LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM (LTDP) EFFORT; PERHAPS PROVIDING A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF ITS HISTORY AND GOALS. WE THINK WE SHOULD ALSO NOTE THAT MOST LTDP INITIATIVES WILL IMPROVE THE WAY THINGS ARE NOW DONE. THE LTDP
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REFLECTS THE ABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE TO EVOLVE.

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3. SPECIFIC COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO SPANISH QUESTIONS A THROUGH F.

4. QUESTION A: JOINT ANALYSIS OF THE VARIOUS POLITICAL SITUATIONS WHICH COULD IMPLY A POTENTIAL THREAT FOR SPAIN. WE DID NOT RECEIVE A DRAFT RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION. HOWEVER, WE NOTE THAT SPANISH CONCERNS OVER THE CANARY ISLANDS AND THE MAGHREB ARE AFFECTED BY EXISTING TREATY BOUNDARY AREAS. IT SEEMS TO US THAT THIS ISSUE WILL HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED, IF NOT IN RESPONSE TO THIS QUESTION, THEN ELSEWHERE.

5. QUESTION B: SPAIN'S ROLE IN NATO.

A. WE NOTE, AND AGREE WITH, THE EXPANSION OF OUR RESPONSE TO COVER MORE THAN THE PURELY MILITARY FOCUS OF THE ORIGINAL QUESTION.

B. WE THINK THAT AS THE QUESTION IS DEVELOPED WE SHOULD REMIND THE SPANISH OF THE HYPOTHETICAL NATURE OF THE

SUGGESTIONS AND THAT IT IS SPAIN'S BUSINESS TO DETERMINE ACTUAL COMMITMENT. HOWEVER, WE MUST BE CAREFUL THAT WE DO NOT FOSTER THE IDEA OF A PARTIAL OR SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP.

C. WE BELIEVE THE INITIAL PRESENTATION ON SPAIN'S RELATIONSHIP TO WESTERN EUROPE IS GOOD. WE SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THAT WE MUST EXPAND ON, OR BE PREPARED TO SUBSTANTIATE, STATEMENTS SUCH AS "IT IS IMPORTANT TO SPAIN AND TO THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE THAT SPAIN ACTIVELY

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AND FULLY PARTICIPATES IN DETERRENCE AND THE DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE AND THE IBERIAN PENINSULA, BOTH AS A PLANNER AND A CONTRIBUTOR. LACK OF DIRECT SPANISH INVOLVEMENT IN DETERMINING HOW WESTERN EUROPE WILL CONTINUE TO MEET THE THREAT TO ITS WELL-BEING REDOUNDS TO SPAIN'S DISADVANTAGE". IN THIS CASE, THE THING DOES NOT SPEAK FOR ITSELF. ALSO, WE SUGGEST THE LAST WORDS BE CHANGED TO READ "...TO ITS WELL-BEING DENIES SPAIN THE OPPORTUNITY TO INFLUENCE DECISIONS IN THAT CONTEXT".

D. WE BELIEVE THAT PARA B (PAGE 2) SHOULD BE EXPANDED AND INCLUDED UNDER PARA C (PAGE 3) OR BE INCLUDED IN

DISCUSSION OF QUESTION C.

E. THE DISCUSSION IN PARA C APPEARS TO BE ON THE MARK,
REQUIRING ONLY SOME FINE TUNING AND MINIMAL EXPANSION.

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FOR EXAMPLE, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO TIE
LOCATIONS TO COMMANDS (AFSOUTH AT NAPLES, ETC.). WE
ALSO THINK THE DISCUSSIONS ON THE ACE MOBILE FORCE (AMF)
SHOULD BE EXPANDED TO EXPLAIN ITS ROLE, COMPOSITION AND
AREAS OF DEPLOYMENT. IN DISCUSSING THE MAGHREB, WE ARE
CONCERNED ABOUT THE NATO BOUNDARY AREA QUESTION AND
BELIEVE WE SHOULD NOTE, OR BE PREPARED TO EXPLAIN, NATO'S
ROLE OUTSIDE THAT AREA.

F. WE NOTE THAT THE DRAFT ADROITLY HANDLES THE
OUT-OF-SPAIN STATIONING QUESTION. ALTHOUGH WE AGREE THAT
WE SHOULD NOT SHY AWAY FROM ADDRESSING THIS DELICATE
QUESTION, WE ARE NEVERTHELESS CONCERNED THAT THE SPANISH
MAY REACT NEGATIVELY IF THIS ISSUE IF NOT HANDLED WITH
PARTICULAR CARE. WE BELIEVE CAREFUL ATTENTION MUST BE
GIVEN TO THE FINAL WORDING.

G. ON PAGE 8, PARA (4)(G), THE DEFINITIVE DATE, 1980,
SHOULD BE DELETED.

H. AS A GENERAL OBSERVATION, WE BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE
USEFUL TO WEAVE IN THE THOUGHT THAT THE INTERACTION
AFFORDED BY SPANISH (CIVIL AND MILITARY) PARTICIPATION IN
MILITARY AND CIVILIAN ORGANIZATIONS WOULD BE OF VALUE TO
SPAIN AS A NATION.

6. QUESTION C: IMPACT OF POSSIBLE MEMBERSHIP ON
SPANISH BILATERAL MILITARY RELATIONS.

A. THE DRAFT RESPONSE APPEARS TO BE ON THE RIGHT TRACT.
WE WOULD, HOWEVER, SUGGEST SHARPENING THE FOCUS ON THE
FOSTERING OF BILATERAL MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WHICH DERIVES
FROM COMMON NATO MEMBERSHIP. INDEED, ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP

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SHOULD IN NO WAY BE SEEN AS SUBTRACTING FROM THE STRENGTH
OF BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS. IT PUTS THEM IN A CONTEXT OF
MUTUALITY WHICH, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS MADE ASSISTANCE TO
PORTUGAL ALL THE EASIER TO ARGUE FOR IN ALLIANCE CAPITALS.

B. WE BELIEVE THAT WASHINGTON IS CORRECT IN FLAGGING FOR THE SPANIARDS THE POSSIBLE CONGRESSIONAL RELUCTANCE TO EXTEND THE 1976 TREATY IF SPAIN WERE TO DECIDE TO REMAIN OUTSIDE OF NATO. THIS POINT IS OBVIOUSLY A DELICATE ONE, BUT ITS IMPORT SHOULD NOT BE LOST ON THE SPANISH.

C. THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC REVISIONS ARE SUGGESTED:

(1) ON PAGE 2, WE SUGGEST DROPPING THE NEXT-TO-LAST SENTENCE OR SUBSTITUTING A BROADER RANGE OF EXAMPLES.

(2) ON THE INSERT ON PAGE 4, DELETE THE STATEMENT ON NORWEGIAN ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGAL BY MODERNIZATION OF DESTROYERS (THIS HAS NOT BEEN ACCOMPLISHED AND IS A DOUBTFUL PROSPECT); AND REVISE THE STATEMENT ON FRG ASSISTANCE BY PROVISION OF TANKS TO STATE "FRG-US ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGAL BY PROVISION OF TANKS, AIRCRAFT, ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS, AND OTHER MILITARY EQUIPMENT" (PROVIDING A MORE ACCURATE STATEMENT).

D. REFERENCE THE CHART FOLLOWING PAGE 7. WE HAD DIFFICULTY FITTING THE CHART IN WITH THE TEXT, BUT ASSUME IT REFERS TO THE LAST PARAGRAPH ON PAGE 7. IF THIS IS THE CASE, WE WONDER WHY ONLY NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED NATIONS WERE SELECTED FOR COMPARISON. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO INCLUDE SOME NATO NATIONS AS WELL. ADDITION-

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JCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE
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ALLY, THE 1976 FIGURES FOR SPAIN ARE AT VARIANCE WITH OUR OWN. SPECIFICALLY, WE SHOW GDP REPEAT GDP (WHICH IS USUALLY HIGHER THAN GNP) TO BE 104.6 BILLION; THE MILITARY BUDGET AT 2.78 BILLION; PERCENT OF GDP AS 2.7-2.9 AND PER CAPITA SPENDING AS 78 DOLLARS. DOLLAR FIGURES BASED ON AN EXCHANGE RATE OF 66.93 PESETAS/DOLLAR. OUR FIGURES WERE DERIVED FROM DATA PROVIDED BY MOD MADRID TO USNATO.

7. QUESTION D: GIBRALTAR.

A. WE AGREE THAT THE US SHOULD ATTEMPT TO STAY AS FAR REMOVED FROM THE QUESTION AS POSSIBLE.

B. IF PRESSED TO THE POINT THAT SOME ANSWER IS REQUIRED, WE BELIEVE THE PROPOSED ANSWER IS ABOUT RIGHT,
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ALTHOUGH WE WOULD DELETE THE REFERENCE TO CYPRUS.

C. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE COD WAR DEMONSTRATES THAT NATO IS CAPABLE, ON OCCASION, OF PLAYING A ROLE IN SETTLING INTRA-ALLIANCE DISPUTES. A SIMPLE CITE OF THAT EXAMPLE COULD BE USED IF A RESPONSE IS REQUIRED.

8. QUESTION E: INFRASTRUCTURE AND LOGISTICS ASPECTS.

A. GENERALLY, WE BELIEVE THAT THE THRUST OF THIS PAPER IS ABOUT RIGHT. DUE TO THE ANSWER'S COMPLEXITY, IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO SUMMARIZE BRIEFLY THE ADVANTAGES TO SPAIN -- PERHAPS EARLY ON IN THE ANSWER. THESE BENEFITS COULD THEN BE EXPLAINED AS THE RESPONSE IS DEVELOPED.

B. AT THE END OF PARA D(1), PAGE 9, WE RECOMMEND ADDING THE STATEMENT "...AT THE NEGOTIATIONS, ON THE BASIS OF ABILITY TO PAY, RELATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ALLIANCE DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, ETC..".

C. RECOMMEND BEGINNING PARA D(2) WITH THE WORDS "REQUESTS FOR INFRASTRUCTURE FACILITIES...".

D. ON PAGE 10, TOP OF PAGE, WE RECOMMEND THE WORDING "...BIDDING, LOCAL CONTRACTORS HAVE AN INHERENT ADVANTAGE, SPANISH CONTRACTORS WOULD ALSO BECOME ELIGIBLE TO BID ON NATO INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES".

9. QUESTION F: QUANTIFICATION OF SPAIN'S MILITARY CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIANCE.

A. WE NOTE THAT ON PAGE 2, THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE REPEATS A STATEMENT ON PAGE 1 AND SHOULD BE DELETED:

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"USING 1977 FIGURES AVAILABLE TO US...TWELFTH IN PER CAPITA SPENDING". FYI: THE FEB 1978 ISSUE OF THE NATO REVIEW PROVIDED A COMPARISON OF EXPENDITURES OF NATO COUNTRIES, AND WE HAVE PROVIDED TWENTY-FIVE COPIES OF THIS ISSUE TO EMBASSY MADRID.

B. BASED UPON PRESENT CONTRIBUTIONS BY NATO COUNTRIES, ON PAGES 2 AND 3, SPANISH ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INFRASTRUCTURE BUDGET WOULD APPEAR TO BE BETWEEN 4 AND 6 PERCENT OR BETWEEN \$32 AND \$48 MILLION; THE ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY HEADQUARTERS' BUDGET WOULD APPEAR TO BE BETWEEN 3.5 AND 4.5 PERCENT (OR BETWEEN \$9.1 AND \$11.7 MILLION); AND THE ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE CIVILIAN HEADQUARTERS BUDGET WOULD APPEAR TO BE BETWEEN 3.5 AND 4.5 PERCENT OR BETWEEN \$2.1 AND \$2.7 MILLION.

10. COMMENTS ON AGENDA:

A. WE BELIEVE THE PROPOSED AGENDA IS EXCELLENT AND WILL SERVE TO GENERATE THE DESIRED US-SPANISH DIALOGUE.

B. WE ASSUME THAT THE ITEMS COVERED BY THE AGENDA, BUT NOT ADDRESSED IN THE DRAFT PAPERS, WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR REVIEW AT THE WASHINGTON MEETING.

C. AGENDA ITEM III APPEARS TO INCLUDE AN ELEMENT OF DUPLICATION IN THAT MATERIAL COVERED IN III-B IS ADDRESSED IN SOME DETAIL IN THE BALANCE BRIEFINGS (III-A).

D. WITH RESPECT TO AGENDA ITEM V-B, WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL TO SEEK SPANISH AGREEMENT WITH THE US DESIRE

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TO ESTABLISH AN INSTITUTIONAL LINK BETWEEN THE GOS AND
NATO HQS. WE HAVE INFORMED SYG LUNS OF OUR GENERAL
APPROACH TO SUCH AN INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT (USNATO
01049). HOWEVER, AS YET, WE HAVE NOT TALKED WITH
PERMREPS, BELIEVING IT ESSENTIAL TO HAVE SPANISH SUPPORT
FOR SUCH A MOVE, SINCE THERE IS A DANGER THAT SPAIN
COULD BE REBUFFED. WE SUGGEST THAT TIME BE SET ASIDE IN
MADRID TO OUTLINE OUR THINKING TO THE SPANISH AND ELICIT
THEIR AGREEMENT TO INFORMAL AND FORMAL APPROACHES BY THE
US AT NATO HEADQUARTERS.

11. WE WILL PROVIDE OUR INPUTS TO AGENDA ITEMS II-A AND
IV-A1 BY SEPTTEL.

12. THIS IS A JOINT USNATO/USDELMC CABLE.GLITMAN

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